The Chairman of the Delegation of the United States of America

THE HONORABLE EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.

It is with a full heart that I address this final plenary session of the United Nations Conference on International Organization.

Two months ago the delegates here assembled met for the first time. We came from many parts of the earth, across continents and oceans. We came as the representatives of fifty different nations. But we came here first of all as the representatives of humanity and as the bearers of a common mandate—to write the Charter of a World Organization to maintain peace for all nations and to promote the welfare of all men.

Every nation represented here has had a part in the making of the Charter. Sentence by sentence, article by article, it has been hammerd out around the conference tables. We have spoken freely with each other. Often we have disagreed. When we disagreed we tried again, and then again, until we ended by reconciling the differences among us.

This is the way of friendship and of peace. This is the only way that nations of free men can make a Charter for peace and the only way that they can live at peace with one another.

The San Francisco Conference has fulfilled its mandate. The Charter of a permanent United Nations has now been written.

Today we meet together for the last time at this Conference. Tomorrow we shall separate and return home, each to his own country. But in this Charter we will carry to our governments and to our peoples an identical message of purpose and an identical instrument for the fulfillment of that purpose.

We shall bring this Charter to a world that is still racked by war and by war's aftermath.

A few days ago I talked with some young Americans just back from the battlefront. They lay—wounded and in pain—in the beds of an Army hospital.

As I talked with them I thought of the many millions who have risked all and sacrificed future and life itself to give the world this chance. I thought of all those men and women and children of the nations represented in this meeting place today whom tyranny with bomb and bayonet, starvation, fire and torture, could kill but never conquer. And I thought of all the cities now in ruins and all the land laid waste.

The terrible trial is not yet over. The fighting continues. The reconstruction has only just begun.

This Charter is a compact born of suffering and of war. With it now rests our hope for good and lasting peace.

The words upon its parchment chart the course by which a world in agony can be restored and peace maintained and human rights and freedoms can be advanced. It is a course which I believe to be within the will and the capacity of the nations at this period of world history to follow.

To the governments and peoples of the fifty nations whose representatives have labored here the Charter is now committed. May Almighty God, from this day on, and in the months and years to come, sustain us in the unalterable purpose that its promise be fulfilled.

The Acting Chairman of the Delegation of the
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
THE HONORABLE A. A. GROMYKO

Today we sum up the results of the historic Conference of the United Nations, gathered to work out the Charter of the Organization on the maintenance of peace and security. The foundation of this International Organization was laid down even at the time when the war was raging in Europe, when the enemy, though having suffered a serious defeat, resisted furiously. These foundations, as it is known, were laid at the Moscow Conference of the ministers for foreign affairs of the United States of America, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and at the historic Crimea Conference.

The peace-loving nations who suffered countless sacrifices in this war naturally rest their hopes on the establishment, by collective efforts, of an international instrument which could prevent the repetition of a new tragedy for humanity. In accordance with the decisions adopted at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, Marshal Stalin said: "To win the war against Germany means to carry out a great historical deed. But to win the war still does not mean the insurance of lasting peace and security for the people in the future. The task is not only to win the war but also to make impossible the occurrence of a new aggression and a new war, if not forever, then at least for a long period of time."

When asked whether there is some means for preventing German aggression, to nip it in the bud if war breaks out, and keep it from developing into a big war, Marshal Stalin gave the following answer: "To achieve this, there is only one means besides the complete disarmament of the aggressor nations: to establish a special organization for defense of peace and insurance of security, from among the representatives of the peace-loving nations; to place at the disposal of the steering body of this Organization the maximum quantity of armed forces sufficient for the suppression of aggression; and to convince this Organization, in case of necessity, to send without any delay these armed forces for the prevention and liquidation of aggression, for the punishment of those guilty of aggression."

At the same time Marshal Stalin pointed out that the actions of that Organization would be sufficiently effective if the great powers who carried the main burden of the war against Hitlerite Germany would continue to act in the spirit of unanimity and accord. These actions will not be effective if a breach of this indispensable condition occurs.

Such are the principles by which the Soviet Government has been guided

while taking an active part in the establishment of the International Security Organization and by which the Soviet Delegation has been guided in the course of the work of this Conference.

Naturally, at this final session a question arises as to the results of this Conference and whether it has fulfilled its task. The Charter of the Organization, which is the result of ceaseless work of delegations participating in the Conference, affords solid ground to consider the work of the Conference a success.

The Charter of the United Nations provides for the establishment of the Security Council possessing powers and means necessary for prevention or suppression of aggression. The Security Council, exercising its functions and powers for the maintenance of peace, will act on behalf of all members of the United Nations. States-members of the United Nations, as the Charter provides, agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council. These provisions of the Charter alone emphasize the efficient character of the international machine for the maintenance of the peace which we are establishing.

The Charter provides that the body of the Security Council will include five great powers as permanent members: the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Great Britain, France and China. The decision of the Conference to give permanent seats in the Council to five great powers is recognition of the obvious fact that the Security Council can possess sufficient means and forces necessary for the maintenance of peace only if it permanently includes those countries which have sufficient resources in men and material necessary for the successful and effective fulfillment of its duties.

The whole world is aware of the role of these powers in their fight together against aggression in the course of the second world war, and the role played by each of them.

In the European war which has just ended, the Allied powers demonstrated their ability to carry out the task of annihilating the strongest and most cunning enemy in history. Without cooperation between them it would be impossible to carry out so successfully the task of defeating Hitlerite Germany. Without such cooperation, it would be impossible in the future to carry out the task of preserving peace.

The Conference devoted much of its time to the question of working out the part of the Charter dealing with the establishment of the second important organ of the Organization—the General Assembly—and defining its functions and powers. These functions and powers, as defined by the Charter, give the Assembly great opportunities to make an important contribution to the cause of the maintenance of peace and security. Besides, within the sphere of functions and powers of the General Assembly there are a great number of questions on economic, social, political and cultural cooperation and other questions within the scope of the Charter and within the scope of functions and powers of the organs provided for by this Charter: the Economic and Social Council, the Council on Territorial Trusteeship and other organs.

taneous hospitality which the people of San Francisco have offered to the members of the delegations to the United Nations Conference;

In recognition of the contribution which the arrangements for the reception and entertainment of the members of the delegations has made to their effective participation in the work of the Conference; and

In recognition of the efforts of the citizens of San Francisco, appointed by the Honorable Roger D. Lapham, Mayor of San Francisco, to be members of the United Nations Conference Committee, in the planning and organization of the hospitality extended to the delegations;

The chairmen of the delegations to the United Nations Conference on International Organization unanimously express their heartfelt thanks to the people of San Francisco and the members of the aforesaid Committee and request that the original of the present testimonial be deposited with His Honor the Mayor of San Francisco and that appropriate copies thereof be presented to the individual members of the Committee.

The Acting Chairman of the Delegation of China

The Honorable V. K. Wellington Koo

The United Nations Conference on International Organization has concluded its vitally important mission of writing a Charter. This instrument will, I believe, prove itself to be an epoch-making document and will rank in its contribution to international justice and peace with the Magna Carta and the Constitution of the United States in their contribution to political liberty and representative government. As we look back upon the eight weeks we have spent on this stupendous task, we cannot fail to recall with even greater appreciation the fullness of the discussion, the earnestness in the debates, the hard work of the technical committees, and the spirit of conciliation, all of which factors have helped to make the Charter an instrument of high ideal and practical wisdom. None of the delegations may find all that they wished to see embodied in it, but they will agree, I am sure, that it contains the essential features for the building of a world organization to promote international justice, peace and prosperity. Without the valuable contribution, however, of all the participating delegations, we could not have achieved this splendid result.

The idea of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security, was first conceived by that pre-eminent leader, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the late President of the United States, and the veteran statesman, Cordell Hull, when he was Secretary of State. It was consecrated in the Four-Power Declaration of Moscow and implemented by a set of concrete proposals at Dumbarton Oaks. These proposals have now been further elaborated and improved at San Francisco.

Mere mention of the fact that twenty-nine amendments were jointly submitted to the Conference by the four sponsoring Powers and literally hundreds of other amendments by the other participating delegations gives an indication of the common desire and determination to complete and perfect the Dumbarton Oaks plan of a permanent Charter. We are glad to see in the completed instrument today many new features. Provisions have been added which emphasize that the adjustment or settlement of international disputes should be in conformity with the principles of justice and international law; which aim to promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex;

which expressly recognize the inherent right of individual and collective self-defence in the event of an armed attack; which stress the importance of cooperation in the solution of international economic, social, cultural and other humanitarian problems; which empower the Economic and Social Council to set up commissions in these diverse fields of activity in order to achieve positive results; and which, lastly but far from being of the least importance, provide a comprehensive and liberal system of international trusteeship, stipulating independence and self-government among its fundamental objectives. These are only illustrations but they are sufficient, I hope, to show the broad scope, the high principles and the noble purposes of the new Charter.

The constitution of the Organization of the United Nations is now written and signed, and will in due course be ratified by the Governments represented at this Conference. It remains for us to continue to foster mutual trust and friendly collaboration in order to make this, the greatest of international experiments, a great success in fact.

We of the Chinese Delegation came to San Francisco to cooperate and we have been glad to find cooperation the happy keynote of the whole Conference. We are confident that, with faith in the future and with the same spirit of cooperation as has guided us in our deliberations here in the Golden City, lasting peace and continued prosperity will be within the gift of the new Organization to the whole world. This is not an utopian dream. We believe it to be a legitimate aspiration, a reasonable hope, and indeed, when fully realized, it will be a just reward for our exertions in the arduous common struggle which has cost us all, and will cost us more still untold sacrifice of life, blood and treasure. The genius of man has devised the plan and completed the instrument, and we fervently hope that the spirit of cooperation will always guide its operation in order to achieve its lofty aims.

We have stayed two months here in San Francisco. The excellent arrangements made by the Government of the United States have made our sojourn here both pleasant and fruitful. As the representatives of one of the sponsoring powers, we of the Chinese Delegation feel especially grateful to the host nation. We wish also to express our deep appreciation of the hospitalities of the city and people of San Francisco. But I cannot conclude my remarks without acknowledging also the splendid and most valuable work of the Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State and Chairman of the American Delegation, who, in his various high capacities in the Conference and with the assistance of an efficient secretariat, has made a unique contribution to the success of the Conference. To him as also to his able and distinguished colleagues on his delegation, we owe an immense debt of gratitude, and to them all we wish to extend our thanks and our admiration. I sincerely believe that these sentiments are not ours alone but are fully shared by the other delegations to the Conference.

Thus, for each member of the International Organization, for all states, great and small, there are great opportunities for making contributions to the common cause of the maintenance of peace and strengthening cooperation between the United Nations in the interest of the well-being and prosperity of all peoples.

Of course, in the course of the work of the Conference there were some difficulties and differences of views between separate delegations on these or other questions. However, one should be surprised not at the existence of these difficulties and not at the existence of different viewpoints between separate delegations on these or other questions, but at the fact that, as a result of the work of the Conference, all the main difficulties were overcome, and we succeeded in fulfilling successfully the tasks before the Conference. We prepared a document which should become the basis for the actions of the International Organization—its constitution. Naturally, the very best and most perfect Charter in itself is not yet a guarantee that its provisions will be carried out and ensure the preservation of peace. In order to achieve this important and noble task it is also necessary, in addition to the existing Charter, to have the unity and coordination of actions of members of the International Organization, and first of all the unity and coordination of actions between the most powerful military powers of the world. It is also necessary that all members of the International Organization should try to settle all disputes by peaceful means in the spirit of cooperation and goodwill.

The Delegation of the Soviet Union in the course of the work of the Conference aimed at the creation of a Charter of the International Organization which could guarantee the effective fulfillment of the tasks confronting the Organization.

I am glad to emphasize that the Soviet Delegation in its work found understanding and support on the part of many other delegations participating in this Conference. It could not be otherwise. The peoples of the countries represented at this Conference pursue a common objective—to prevent the repetition of a new war.

The provisions of the Charter, which have been worked out, cover a great number of questions and problems defining the future activity of the Organization as a whole and its separate organs. In this connection it is necessary to point out specially the significance of those provisions of the Charter which refer to peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts. The participants in the Conference paid great attention to this field of their work. Under the Charter, members of the International Organization obligate themselves to achieve peaceful settlements of the disputes. Let us hope that this aim will be fully realized.

In conclusion I wish to express confidence that this Conference of the United Nations will go down in the history of humanity as one of the most significant events and that our efforts will be beneficial for all peace-loving peoples of the world, who endured so many hardships and sufferings as a result of the conflagration set by Hitlerite Germany.

I take this occasion to thank the Government of the United States on

behalf of the Soviet Delegation for the hospitality shown to us, participants in the Conference, and especially to thank Mr. Truman, President of the United States, whom we have the pleasure of seeing today at this historic final session of the United Nations Conference.

Now I also wish to thank Mr. Stettinius for his work and efforts directed towards the successful completion of the work of this Conference.

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The Chairman of the Delegation of the United Kingdom

The Earl of Halifax

The United Kingdom is proud to have shared with our Allies and friends in all that has led to this gathering of nations. And it is fitting that we should have met in a great American city. For it was a President of the United States who brought a project of peace before the world in 1918. To another President we largely owe our very name, our victory, and our present purpose. Finally, on this historic day in the world's long search for peace, his successor comes to set his own stamp of approval and support upon our labours.

Our work now stands for the world to judge, and I am confident that neither Mr. Cordell Hull, in whose vision this design took shape, nor Mr. Stettinius, whose courage and character have served it well, need fear the verdict. For the Charter is a notable advance, both on all that has gone before and on the plan of the Sponsor Powers, from which it grew. I do not doubt that in this result the future will acknowledge the part of all nations, and not the least, I hope, that of the different members of the British Commonwealth. We cannot indeed claim that our work is perfect or that we have created an unbreakable guarantee of peace. For ours is no enchanted palace to "spring into sight at once," by magic touch or hidden power. But we have, I am convinced, forged an instrument by which, if men are serious in wanting peace and are ready to make sacrifices for it, they may find means to win it.

Here in San Francisco we have seen but the beginnings of a long and challenging endeavour. And there is a sense in which what we have done here is less important than what we have learnt here. We have learnt to know one another better; to argue with patience; to differ with respect; and at all tir to pay honour to sincerity. That the thought of many men of many nations should thus have met in a large constructive task will have a value beyond price during the coming years, as stone by stone we carry on what we have here begun. Time alone can show whether the house that we have tried to build rests upon shifting sand, or, as I firmly hope, upon solid rock, to stand as shield and shelter against every storm.

Long years ago in Europe men set themselves to raise a cathedral to God's glory. "Let us," they said, "build a church so great that those who come after us will think us mad to have attempted it." So they said, and wrought, and, after many years, achieved; and the great cathedral at Seville is their monument.

Let us also, mindful alike of the world's need and of our own weakness, pray that, under God's guidance, what we have done here in these last weeks will be found worthy of the faith that gave it birth and of the human suffering that has been its price.

The Acting Chairman of the Delegation of France

THE HONORABLE JOSEPH PAUL-BONCOUR

I am greatly honored to speak in the presence of the President who personifies the future of the great Republic which has extended its invaluable hospitality to the Conference. Having achieved freedom and peace among the States of which it is composed, it now turns to the noble task of establishing freedom and peace among all the States of the world.

I shall be brief, as befits the solemnity of the occasion.

Of all the matters on which we have cause to rejoice deeply and sincerely at the results obtained, I simply wish to express the happiness of a country and of a man on seeing the ideas for which they have fought since the last war unanimously sanctioned by the Powers represented here.

A great and just ideal was conceived in the faith and enthusiasm which followed the last war. We built a League of Nations. Humanity, its wounds still bleeding, did not find the shelter it had hoped for, and a second world war came to ravage the human race.

For there was a serious flaw in the structure. When everything possible has been done to maintain peace, if the aggressor persists in his purpose, there is only one way to oppose him, and that is by *force*. But the Covenant of the League merely provided for the recommendation of military sanctions involving air, sea or land forces, and consequently left the nations the option of backing out.

Today this flaw has been eliminated. In the Charter sanctioned by this plenary assembly which President Truman has honoured by his presence, the *obligation* for all Member States to help in suppressing aggression is plainly established. An international force is to be formed and placed at the disposal of the Security Council in order to ensure respect for its decisions. This force will consist of national contingents arranged for in advance by special agreements negotiated on the initiative of the Security Council. These special agreements will determine the composition of this force, its strength, degree of preparedness and location. If called upon to do so by the Security Council, the entire force will march against a State convicted of aggression, in accordance with the provisions for enforcement as laid down for the Security Council.

An international Military Staff Committee will draw up plans for employing this collective force under an international command to be determined if and when occasion arises.

The international Military Staff Committee, which is to give technical advice to the Security Council as regards its military task, will be composed of the Chiefs of Staff of permanent members of the Council, it being understood that other States not permanent members, or not members of the Council, which are called upon to provide contingents in accordance with the special agreements to which they are parties, will also be called upon to attend meetings of the international Military Staff Committee, if and when the latter has to discuss how these contingents are to be used.

In this way, the international Organization will no longer be unarmed against violence. The forceful idea of our writer Pascal will no longer be belied: "Strength without justice is tyrannical, and justice without strength is a mockery."

That is the great thing, the great historic act accomplished by the San Francisco Conference, which gives to the world the hope, based on an obvious reality, that henceforward it may live in peace.

This reality is the unquestionable superiority which the sum total of the strength of the United Nations, their formidable resources in men and material, together with their productive capacity, will give them over an aggressor rising alone in rebellion. And the certainty of defeat will most probably discourage any aggressor from starting a fight.

But the United Nations, and more especially the great nations with a permanent seat on the Council, must remain truly united.

The whole efficacy of the Charter depends on this unity. In the hour when immense hope rises from our hearts, let us swear to remain faithful in peace to this unity which was our strength in war.

The war is not over, and from the sunny splendours of San Francisco, across the magnificent bay which spreads each morning before our eyes, a little tired because of the work we have taken upon ourselves, our good wishes accompany the soldiers and sailors of the United States setting out for the final onslaught.

But union has already brought us victory in Europe. Whole countries, including my own, have been freed from the hated yoke they suffered for four interminable years.

And it is particularly in the name of these liberated countries which have endured all the physical and moral hardships of enemy occupation, which still suffer—and suffer badly—from its consequences, which are plundered and destroyed, hungry and cold; and because they feel more deeply, even in their physical being, the warmth of this welcome and the comforts lavished upon them—it is particularly on their behalf that I propose that the entire Conference express its grateful appreciation to California, to San Francisco, which have brought such joy to us, the representatives of these countries, and to them all.

This is the proposal which I offer for your endorsement:

In recognition of the innumerable courtesies and manifestations of spon-

The Chairman of the Delegation of Czechoslovakia

THE HONORABLE JAN MASARYK

The great San Francisco Conference has terminated its all-important historic deliberations. To some it seemed too long. But if we consider the magnitude of our task, the conditions prevailing in this world of ours in April 1945 and even today, if we realize how thoroughly our civilization has been shaken up by years of concentrated destruction of values material, moral and cultural, we are bound to come to the conclusion that the time spent on drafting the Charter, in my estimation one of the most important documents in human history, was neither long nor wasted. From fifty different countries—and how different—representatives came to the Golden Gate for a tremendous purpose, our handling of which shall be judged by many coming generations. The Czechoslovak Delegation is proud of the opportunity to cooperate modestly in this epoch-making task.

A great deal has been said about the great, medium and small nations. Although the Czechoslovak Government from the beginning fullheartedly agreed with the thesis that the great powers, who will have to carry the overwhelming brunt of the political and economic responsibility, should have more to say than the rest of us, we realized at the same time than an honorable and dignified role could, would and should be played by any Delegation who had something worth while to contribute. The Charter is the proof of both these points.

There may have been created in some quarters the impression that the forty-five so-called small and medium nations—though some of them are great in tradition and in achievement—had been in a steady opposition to the Big Five. That is certainly not correct. On the contrary, a friendly and fruitful cooperation between all the fifty powers represented here was very much in evidence throughout our labors, even if sometimes differences of opinion were not unnoticeable. Let me repeat what I have often said before, that there are so many vital interests we have in common—the big and the small—and that the common denominator of peace with security is overwhelming. This has been so gloriously manifested on the fields of battle and we all hope will be equally strongly manifested once peace is established.

The small and smaller countries need security, crave security, pray for security, so that they can keep step with the great ones and serve humanity as equals among equals.

In a short while now we shall disperse into all corners of the earth to explain to our peoples what we did, why we did it and how we did it. It is

Let that faith which led the Conference to success guide our future footsteps. Let us practice and preserve the principles which we have here put down on paper. Once and for all, let us put an end to selfishness, greed, persecution, tyranny and oppression. Let this Charter be the solid foundation upon which we shall build our new and better world.

We have tested the principle of cooperation in this war and have found that it works. Through the pooling of resources, through joint and combined military command, through constant staff meetings, we have shown what united strength can do in war. That united strength forced Germany to surrender. United strength will force Japan to surrender.

The United Nations have also had experience, even while the fighting was still going on, in reaching economic agreements for times of peace. What was done on the subject of relief at Atlantic City, food at Hot Springs, finance at Bretton Woods, aviation at Chicago, was a fair test of what can be done by nations determined to live cooperatively in a world where they cannot live peacefully any other way.

What you have accomplished in San Francisco shows how well these lessons of military and economic cooperation have been learned. You have created a great instrument for peace and security and human progress in the world.

The world must now use it!

If we fail to use it, we shall betray all those who have died in order that we might meet here in freedom and safety to create it.

If we seek to use it selfishly—for the advantage of any one nation or any small group of nations—we shall be equally guilty of that betrayal.

The successful use of this instrument will require the united will and firm determination of the free peoples who have created it. The job will tax the moral strength and fibre of us all.

We all have to recognize—no matter how great our strength—that we must deny ourselves the license to do always as we please. No one nation, no regional group, can or should expect, any special privilege which harms any other nation. If any nation would keep security for itself, it must be ready and willing to share security with all. That is the price which each nation will have to pay for world peace. Unless we are all willing to pay that price, no organization for world peace can accomplish its purpose.

And what a reasonable price that is!

Out of this conflict have come powerful military nations, now fully trained and equipped for war. But they have no right to dominate the world. It is rather the duty of these powerful nations to assume the responsibility for leadership toward a world of peace. That is why we have here resolved that power and strength shall be used not to wage war, but to keep the world at peace, and free from the fear of war.

By their own example the strong nations of the world should lead the way to international justice. That principle of justice is the foundation stone of this Charter. That principle is the guiding spirit by which it must be carried out—not by words alone but by continued concrete acts of good will.

There is a time for making plans—and there is a time for action. The time for action is now! Let us, therefore, each in his own nation and accord-

my considered opinion that we can face our respective Governments, Parliaments and peoples with a calm conscience and a feeling of modest satisfaction.

This Charter is a good document, honestly arrived at, and if the same spirit of friendly cooperation prevails in bringing it into actual force, I do not see any insurmountable difficulties looming ahead.

We have in our hands an effective weapon against the repetition of wanton aggression by the beaten Nazi and Fascist evildoers, and after the second part of the war is crowned with the same absolute military victory—as it surely will be—also against the medieval imperialism of the Japanese. There will be many important, complex and far-reaching problems to solve—but we can, we shall solve them, because we know that sorely wounded humanity could not stand another cataclysm such as the one out of which we are laboriously, but victoriously, emerging at this moment.

May I in conclusion utter a humble word of warning? Let us please stop talking of the next world war. The language one hears in certain places is lamentably unconstructive, it arouses suspicions at a moment when mutual confidence is all-important. Not one of us in this room wants another war. None of us want the children of these selfless children of ours, whose graves are scattered as sacred mementos all over the face of the scarred earth—none of us want these children to die in another war in another generation—we want them to live and work for their respective countries in peace and security in a socially just and safe world. That's why we assembled here, that's why we drafted the Charter. It contains all the necessary safeguards against future wars. Let us see to it that our lofty aims are carried into deeds worthy of the memory of our heroic beloved youngsters.

The spirit and ideals of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt are present here today. I know they would give us their blessing, and we the fifty nations united here are wishing Godspeed to their successor, Harry S. Truman—for his journey to the next meeting and for a successful accomplishment of the gigantic task which he took over so ably, so efficiently and so humbly.

The Chairman of the Delegation of Mexico

The Honorable Ezequiel Padilla

We have now completed the historic task so fervently awaited by all men of goodwill. To appreciate the profound significance of our successful undertaking, in whose execution its leaders have displayed extraordinary ability and wisdom, we need only to realize that the three great victorious powers—the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain—could have determined the immediate future of the world by themselves and for themselves. Instead, their Governments convoked all the United Nations, both great and small, to lay at this Conference the foundations of an international structure based on cooperation and law. The Governments of the great powers have done this because their peoples have charged them with the responsibility of protecting the coming generations against new and frightful sacrifices.

We may, therefore, assert that the Conference at San Francisco has not been a sombre expression of force, but the embodiment of the highest aspiration of man toward permanent world peace and justice.

The manner in which the work of this Conference has been carried out constitutes a consecration of the principles of freedom and of the dignity of nations. And in itself this Conference has become a living proof of the spiritual value of Victory. For had the Nazi-Fascist dictatorships been triumphant, the world would have never been able to gaze upon the genuinely democratic spectacle of effective international cooperation.

The Charter is not only an instrument of security against the horrors of war. It is also, for the peoples who have been fighting to uphold the principles of human dignity, an instrument of well-being and happiness against the horrors of a peace without hope, in which men would be subjected to humiliating privations and injustices. "Blood, sweat and tears" comprised the glorious but provisional rule of war. It must not become the rule of peace.

The great powers will be the safest guarantors of world security. If good faith informs their actions and their actions conform to the standards of justice which should govern international friendship, the peoples of the world will be able to devote themselves to the task of developing prosperity, freedom and confidence, and the power of good will become stronger each day. On the other hand, were any of the great powers to rush headlong, spurred by illegitimate ambitions, mistrust and fear would emerge once more and the forces of evil would grow from day to day.

The small nations, who have displayed in this Conference a great sense

of responsibility, noble cooperation and dignity, are destined to fulfill a great mission: to tend with devotion and courage the sacred fire of Law. They will not be alone in this luminous task, for the common men of all nations, great and small, hold the same aspirations and have the same faith in a common destiny. Whenever the cause of justice will raise its banner, the peoples, great and small, shall cry with the same conviction, shall act with the same strength.

The small nations must not forget that they are not too small to dream of, yearn and fight for the cause of mankind. Potent forces emanating from the great powers meet and support the aspirations and efforts of weaker peoples.

In this Charter are gathered all the hopes for human solidarity. Henceforth, no nation need any longer be isolated in silence and darkness, in the indifference or the complicity of the rest of the world. We are now met at the Forum of universal conscience.

Our faith must rest, not on the great or the small nations, but upon the common man of all nations. All peoples, large and small, fully know that the world cannot bear the terrible stress of another total war without turning back to the dark ages. There is, therefore, a peremptory necessity to live in peace. Let us have reciprocal confidence, let us have the full measure of our goodwill!

And in bidding each other farewell, let us engrave on our hearts and minds the conviction that unlimited opportunities now exist to alleviate suffering and to build in an atmosphere of enduring peace, the welfare, the freedom and the justice of a new world!

The Chairman of the Delegation of Saudi Arabia

H. R. H. Amir Faisal ibn Abdul Aziz

Today marks the end of this great historic occasion in which many nations, struggling for the establishment and support of peace, have participated. We have finished today what may be called the Charter of Justice and Peace, after hard work, long discussions and deliberations in order to put this Organization in the most effective form to safeguard peace and justice for the future world.

This Charter does not represent perfection as visualized by the small states. Nevertheless, it is doubtless the best ever produced by people representing fifty states, many of which have suffered much in their struggle for liberty, the defense of humanity and its liberation from slavery which only God knows how long would have lasted or when we would have been saved from its tragedies and calamities, had injustice prevailed.

We have seen the powers of tyranny prevail in Europe and threaten the Near and Middle East. But, with God's help, these powers have been completely defeated. We, the sons of the Near and Middle East and particularly of the Arab Nations, are filled with happiness and joy at the collapse of these powers of evil. We look forward with rejoicing to the collapse of the last stronghold of tyranny and oppression. Indeed, the whole world is indebted for its survival to the United Nations, which engaged themselves in war, sacrificing the best of their youth and the wealth of their resources for their security and for the security of mankind.

In such a moment we should not forget the great efforts which were put forth by the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt for the cause of peace, and his farsighted action in initiating this Conference. By having achieved these purposes, we have given credit to his memory. We must also pay our tribute to President Truman for his noble efforts for the achievement of peace and security through this Conference.

No doubt this Charter will lead toward prosperity and happiness for all nations, great and small. We have all done our best here to fulfill our obligations to humanity. As long as we are united together in a spirit of cooperation, the hand of Almighty God will lead us. We shall always have His aid insofar as we help one another.

I wish to thank the people of this beautiful city, the pride of the Pacific, for their hospitality, kindness and friendship. From now on, indeed, San Francisco should be called the City of Peace.

The Chairman of the Delegation of the Union of South Africa

Field Marshal Jan Christian Smuts

The President of the United States has honoured us and added lustre to this Conference by personally attending this final session, and thus associating himself with our labours, and with an event which will stand out among the most significant of our time.

San Francisco is today in the centre of the vast drama of war and peace which has dominated our time Men and women on a world-wide scale have suffered as never before in history. However much they may try to remain cheerful they cannot help being gripped by secret fear for the future. They have seen the mounting horror of war, and science warns them to expect far worse in future war. Not even our overwhelming victory in Europe has stilled their fears. No wonder that for the last couple of months their eyes have been fixed on San Francisco—their eyes, their hopes, their prayers. If the Charter we have drafted here should fulfil their longings for a peaceful world, it may yet come to rank among the greatest documents of history. What hopes have we Delegates ourselves of our labours?

If I as an old veteran of the wars and of peace conferences, extending for almost half a century, should have to answer this question, I would do so as follows:

Our Charter is not a perfect document. It is full of compromises over very difficult and tangled problems. But at least it is a good practical workmanlike plan for peace—a very real and substantial advance on all previous plans for security against war.

It provides for a peace with teeth; for a unified front of peace-loving peoples against future aggressors; for a united front among the great powers backed by the forces of the smaller powers as well. It provides also for lesser combinations for prompt defence on a regional or local basis. And it provides for central organisation and direction of the joint forces for peace.

Looking for precautions and remedies against war beyond the war machine itself, the Charter envisages also a social and economic organisation of the peoples, intended to raise the levels and standards of life and work for all, and by thus removing social unrest and injustice to strike at the very roots of war. Men and women everywhere, including dependent peoples still unable to look after themselves, are thus drawn into the vast plan to prevent war, not only by direct force, but also by promoting justice and freedom and social peace among the peoples. No such far-reaching and ambitious plan

for war and peace has ever been conceived before, and at this Conference no effort has been spared to broaden it into an effective machine both for security against war and for human advance. To this happy result the Delegates in particular of the United Kingdom as the greatest colonial world power, and the Delegates of the Dominions, especially Australia and New Zealand, as well as of India, have made outstanding contributions, for which I gladly pay my warm tribute.

Great as our achievement is, I feel that more is needed than a machine of peace. Unless the spirit to operate it is there, the best plan or machine may fail. The human factor must play its part. It is for our peace-loving peoples to see that this great peace plan is backed with all their energy, all their heart and soul. All the social and political and spiritual forces of our peoples should be mobilised behind this plan. War today is total, totalitarian, all in. Similarly defence should draft and conscript and organise all the resources of the human spirit behind security against war.

For this total mobilisation of the human spirit for peace we must look to all who labour in the wider sphere of our human advance—to the press, the church, the schools and universities, and to all intellectual forces, all the vast network of social and moral agencies, which are the support of our civilisation. The great imponderables must also be enlisted for peace.

In this respect too we have set a good example at this Conference. Our work has been done in a spirit of goodwill, good comradeship, good faith, without which it could in fact never have been accomplished. Goodwill and good faith are written or implied in every provision of this great document. And in our trust of the future we expect that those who come after us, and who will have to carry our Charter in the generations to come, will also show no less goodwill and good faith in their part of the great job of peace.

And so in faith and trust we hand our Charter down to the future.

May Heaven's blessing rest on it.

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